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As a signal of alarm they strike blows with the *olho do terçado*, "eye of the machete,"[a] on the keel or sides of an overturned canoe, or against a leaning plank.

The rattle stick is a substitute for the gourd rattle, *maracá*, which is completely unknown among the Tukuna. It is a crude stick, retaining its bark, about 1 m. or more in length and from 2 to 3 cm. thick. The rattles are tied to the lower third. It is not used in the "military march" mentioned above, but it is never absent from any other ceremony. The beat is often at variance with the measure of the drum, owing to its generally much slower tempo.

The rattles are almost always made of the hulls of one of two species of vegetable: the fruit of the *auaí* (*Thevetia nerifolia;* l.g., auaí, T., a:'ru), the other and smaller one called in Tukuna kɔ'/taru (l.g., *auaky do igapó*). The hulls are suspended from a narrow web plaited from tucum fiber. The masked dancers also carry these hulls attached to the ends of their staves and spears, and even tied below the knee.

An instrument of masculine use, which I do not know whether to consider a variation of the rattle stick or a "stamping tube," is the ba:'/ma, an enormous, thick reed (l.g., tazuaruçú; *Guadua superba* Hub.) about 2½ m. or more long (pl. 14, *g*). The upper end, in the shape of a caiman's mouth, is open to a depth of 20 to 30 cm. This mouth is toothed in the masculine and smooth in the feminine specimens. Below the mouth is the small face of a demon, similar to those of the masks, and below this are tied rattles. The rest of the piece is decorated with a few belts of urucú on which are glued hawk feathers.

The ba:'/ma are always used in pairs, male and female. Two players dance, one in front of the other, each holding his ba:'/ma in both hands and beating the ground with the lower end, the two instruments being crossed. Since the internal nodes are not removed, the sound is negligible. Like the turtleshell drum, the ba:'/ma is used exclusively by certain clans; it also figures in the legend of the culture heroes.

Used in conjunction with the ba:'/ma, there are also the kɔ"'iri, horns of the bamboo some 70 cm. or more in length and 6 cm. in diameter. One end of the instrument is sealed by a node; the other is open and cut into the shape of a caiman's mouth, exactly like that of the ba:'/ma. Like the latter, the kɔ"'iri are decorated with urucú and hawk plumage. About 15 cm. from the closed end there is a rectangular opening through which one blows into the instrument to produce its sonorous note. It is used only on special occasions—by both sexes and always by three couples. Like the ba:'/ma, the kɔ"'iri are male and female.

Aside from these instruments of ceremonial use there are few musical instruments; such as there are are somewhat suspect as aboriginal instruments or are clearly post-Columbian. Without doubt the flute (vɔvë'ru), made from royal-hawk bone (*Harpya destructor*, L.) is aboriginal, since the hawk occurs in a legend of the culture heroes (see p. 125). It is blown into from one end and has five holes for the fingers—four grouped together on the anterior side and one opposite them on the lower surface. Another flute, cited by Tessmann, is made of bamboo, with two holes close to the lower end; a specimen of this type is in the Berlin Museum. A third flute, with more holes, is just like that used by the Neobrazilian population of the region, but I do not know which was borrowed from whom.

[a] This refers to the iron ring helving the blade to the grip.—Trans.

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As Tessmann has already observed, there are no transaversal flutes or clarinets of the type known as *torá*. A signal horn made of a simple piece of thick bamboo with a lateral opening, closed on one side and open on the other, is invariably carried in the canoe for signaling the arrival of people and for calling them.

Panpipes commonly consist of eight tubes of bamboo (the longest being 15 cm.), joined by two pairs of rattan lashings (fig. 7, *b*). Panpipes are not played in pairs. The Tukuna name for them is čë'ku or dure'tu (Loreto). Loreto is the name of a sub-Andean department of Peru, pronounced in the Tukuna manner "dure'tu" which makes one suppose that the instrument has come from that region.

There is a kind of ocarina (puǀ'čane) made from the seed of the *umarí* (*Porqueiba* sp.), and a clay whistle in the shape of a frog (və:'tavë, a name which imitates the frog's croak). Tessmann erroneously calls it *tó'ke*,[1] which is actually the name of a large megaphone (tə'/kǀ).

The Tukuna learned from the Neobrazilians not only how to play the violin but also how to make it, and on the Rio Jacurapá there was an Indian whose violins were sought after by civilized persons—until the authorities of São Paulo de Olivença ordered his arrest for tax evasion (see p. 138). In spite of the attraction this instrument has for the Tukuna, they produce very little music from it, never playing their tribal melodies but only those which they learn from festivities of Neobrazilians in the region, who, for their part, are far from possessing the musical talent of the northeastern Brazilians.

Pottery

One finds evidence in the kitchen that the Tukuna still produce pottery. This art is principally practiced by women, but not exclusively so, for many men also perform this task to perfection, whereas many women never devote themselves to it.

In all the igarapés inhabited by the Tukúna, a plastic potters' clay of good quality is found more or less frequently; it almost always occurs in the sloughs at the foot of the high bluffs along the river. This raw material is accorded a certain respect, since its patron is an aquatic monster, dyë'vaë, which at times presents itself in the form of the western rainbow.

The clay is said to become useless if a pregnant woman touches or even approaches it: it will not bind, and the jars, on drying, will shatter into pieces. It is considered very dangerous for a woman in this condition to go to the bank to fetch clay, as illustrated by the following legend.[1]

Once, a group of women went to a bank to collect clay for pottery. A woman big with child insisted on accompanying them in spite of the others counseling her not to. The others had already dug out the clay that they needed and had piled it on the bank, where they were still standing when the pregnant woman, seeing nothing suspicious, went down to dig clay, too. She squatted down in the middle of the pit, which was half-filled with water, and took out clay with both hands. Suddenly, dyë'vaë, down at the bottom, allowed a muffled roar to be heard. The women on the bank heard it and cried out: "The owner of the clay is angry! Come up quickly!"

"What is the matter?" replied the pregnant one. "I heard nothing." And she continued to dig. She had just taken out a good quantity of clay when a muffled thunderclap was heard.

[1] Tessmann, p. 561.

[1] Cf. the legend of tau/dipë, p. 120.

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881 773 539 e) A girl was in seclusion; a feast was about to be celebrated. Aside from her, there was no one in the house. In the kitchen there lay beneath a cover on the platform (giráu) all the smoked game for the feast. Suddenly, through a crack in the wall of her room, the vərĕkʲ observed a smoked monkey descend from the platform. Seizing a blowgun, it began to dance with this up and down the kitchen. Then a roasted sloth also clambered down, going first to the fireplace to warm itself, then it searched for the rattle stick, which was already prepared for the feast, and in its turn began to dance to and fro. After some time both returned to the platform.

As soon as her mother returned to the house, the vərĕkʲ told her what she had seen. The mother went to the smoked meat on the platform, examined the sloth, and, seeing that it was dirty with ashes, believed what her daughter had told her. "Nothing like this has ever happened before; I believe that you are going to die!" she said to her daughter. And sure enough, the following morning the girl lay dead in her seclusion room.

342 881 [616] Formerly, a small room, na-piⁿiⁿ (pl. 11, *a*) was made for the girl as soon as possible, against the east wall of the house if she belonged to moiety A, against the west wall if she belonged to moiety B. This little retreat was circular, two meters in diameter or a little more, and had no floor, since the vərĕkʲ sleeps in her hammock throughout her seclusion. The walls are made of long, white strips of burity, tied with cipó firmly together in horizontal bands. These extend from the floor to the roof thatch, where their tips are bent toward the front. On the left side (looking at the room) there is a door, closed by a kind of hanging mat made from [285] burity frondstalks set in a horizontal position and held firm by two vertical rods. Often today the seclusion room is square and is not erected where it should be, because the position of the house on the banks of the Solimões or igapó does not permit it. In general, to make such a room, people are called together for a work [476] party (uajurí) to which, above all, members of the clans of the vərĕkʲ's moiety are invited.

881 *Preparations for the feast.*—The preparations for the feast which now begins may take more than two months, sometimes requiring even one or two more work parties. Nowadays, what really delays completion of the preparations is the difficulty of collecting a sufficient quantity of smoked game for the number of guests; [136] game is now rare in the country (p. 26), and even fish are not caught easily.

[252] The game is roasted on a forked grill, first in the jungle and later in the kitchen, where it is then stored on its own large, covered platform. When the last pieces arrive, the first are already desiccated to the point where they more or less resemble charred wood. At the same time, the women prepare alcoholic drinks, of [273] which a sufficient quantity is required not only for the feast itself but also for the preliminary work party. In the meantime the date of the celebration must be calculated, so that the invitations may be issued.

881 574 *Invitations.*—Two invitations are given for any celebration: the first advising of the approximate time with relation to the phase of the moon ("in the first full moon"), the other fixing the exact day that the ceremony begins. Feasts are preferably held during the full moon, not because any magical influence is attributed to it but simply because it is much more agreeable to have the house and yard of the ceremony flooded with moonlight than plunged in darkness.

881 574 Invitations are delivered personally by the host, that is, by the vərĕkʲ's father or by a person especially charged by him. The messenger travels from house to house informing the residents that the celebration is drawing near and that the

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host suggests the bringing of masks, tucum fibers, and so forth. These trips generally take two days, and only persons with whom the vorĕkɨ's family maintain good relations receive an invitation. A Tukuna will rarely dare to come uninvited.

In general, the definite invitations are given on the eve of the festivities, usually simultaneously by messengers in two canoes, one going upstream, the other downstream. Each man carries a large bark horn, bu'/bu (see p. 42), covered with banana leaves to conceal it from the glances of women and children when the canoe touches shore. Blowing this instrument, the sound of which may be heard from afar, the messengers travel from one house to another, telling the owner the exact day and hour (by the sun's position) when the ceremony is to start, and ascertaining the prospective attendance or absence of the invited guest.

Final arrangements.—While the guests are preparing masks, tucum fibers, small drums, and festive attire in their homes, the final arrangements are being made at the host's house. At the quarter of the house where the vorĕkɨ's seclusion room is erected, outside the house a corral is made, consisting of two thatched walls, higher than a man, perpendicular to the house wall (pl. 17, *c*). The distance between the walls, which are about 12 m. long, is about 7 m. in this enclosure, called tɔ'/kɨ-pi"i" (tɔ'/kɨ, a ceremonial musical instrument, see below; pi"i", enclosure) various ceremonies are carried out with the vorĕkɨ. She has access to it through a small door which, except for these occasions, is firmly lashed to the house wall. During the festivities the musical instruments are kept in the enclosure at night.

A cleared path extends from this corral to a spot on the bank of the river or igarapé several hundred meters from the house, where the musical instruments and the statues used in the ceremony are kept in water during the day, to prevent the former from drying out and to conceal the latter from the uninitiated. From nightfall on, only the persons in charge of the ceremonial instruments[a] may frequent this path, as the host expressly advises the guests. The yard is cleaned and enlarged, and the other paths are closed off by poles, except one that remains open for the necessities of the guests. A large platform about 2 m. high is constructed inside the house for the smoked meat; it is to the right of the seclusion room. The jars, water jugs, sieves, and gourds remain near the door to the left side of the retreat. The outside surface of the wall of the seclusion room (inside the house) is decorated with paintings, that is, bands or crisscross designs composed of triangles, rhomboids, and circles. In one of these quarters is painted the figure of a deer, the symbol of vigilance. At the top there is always a sun with a conventionalized human face, a star, and a new moon. Apparently, these four designs were the only ones painted in the old days, but today the wall is filled with less traditional figures. A photograph of such a wall, taken by a Capuchin missionary, shows a watch, machetes, a tent, a soldier, a woman, and so on; I myself have observed paintings of steamships and airplanes, because nowadays any guest may take advantage of the smooth, white wall to paint whatever comes into his head.

All objects are removed from the floor of the house and are piled on top of the dwelling platform, where the inmates accommodate themselves so as to leave the greatest possible space for the free movement of the guests and for the ceremonies.

[a] These persons are called ʔɔɔ'-tani" (ʔɔɔ', demon) or tɔ/kɨ-tani" (tɔ'/kɨ, ceremonial instrument, described below).

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861 824 More than among other tribes, *Tucuna* children receive corporal punishment, especially with the external application of nettle flowers that are grown for this purpose at the edge of the yard. They play with dolls 524 carved of muirapiranga, figures of animals, little canoes, small bows and arrows, and buzz-disks of gourd shells.

173 881 **Boys' puberty observances.**—There is a tradition that in former times, young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (tá/ki) through an application of snuff called ká/vi, which is still used occasionally.

114 838 There are no vestiges of homosexuality, as claimed by Tessmann (1930, p. 563).

881 **Girls' puberty rites.**—At her first menstruation, a girl is secluded in the house loft. This is not so cruel as certain travelers (Bates, 1863, 2:406) [114] proclaim. Every girl submits willingly, convinced that her peculiar condi- [626] tion requires it and that its omission would be dangerous, as she is surrounded by invisible "immortals" and demons, who seek contact with her and at times cause extraordinary supernatural experiences. Many stories told to a girl in seclusion illustrate this dangerous state.

[342] The people hasten to prepare for the girl a circular seclusion room adjacent to the east or west wall of the house, according to her moiety. [532] They decorate the walls with painted bands and lines, and figures of the sun, moon, morning star, and deer, the last a symbol of vigilance and not a "totem."

[262] Preparations for the feast sometimes require months. They prepare roast meat and beverages and make the house ready. The girl's father is host, but her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies concerning [574] her person, being wholly responsible for her. Friends and acquaintances [202] receive two invitations to the feast; the second, which specifies the date, [534] is issued to the sound of the bark trumpet, which is carried hidden in the canoe.

In the exterior portion of the house, corresponding to the girl's seclu- [534] sion room, a long fence is made with straw walls to conceal the megaphone (tá/ki), its statues, and the bark trumpet which operate behind it each night of the feast and are removed before daybreak and hidden underwater in the creek. People are chosen and invited to operate these instruments by the head of the house when the time comes; there is no permanent assignment. Inside the fence of the megaphone, snuff (ká/vi) or tobacco [276] powder is taken with several ingredients (but not parica). The snuff is kept in a snail shell and blown into the nose by means of an apparatus made of a tubular bone and two quills of royal sparrow hawk feathers, or by means of a simple taboca (bamboo) tube. Boys of 7 or older cus- [562] tomarily are given snuff, after which they may see and touch the instru- [858] ments within the fence, which are taboo to women and to boys who have not yet had it.